1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[18] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

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courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

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The villager's diet is greatly affected by factors other than his financial condition or even his own personal likes and dislikes in food. Social pressure is a determining force.

Although the financial condition of the family does play a part in determining the differences in exact details of meals, most villagers' meals are very much alike. Rice is always preferred as the center or focus of each meal. Various items such as dried fish and some steamed, dried, or fresh vegetables may be added to the rice. Pickled items may also be included for variety and flavor.

Many village families, however, because of poverty or, sometimes, for reasons of thrift, substitute sweet potatoes for rice. If fresh, the sweet potatoes are steamed; otherwise, shredded dry sweet potatoes will usually be steamed together with the rice with which they are mixed. Sweet potatoes are much less expensive than rice, since they are grown on the less desirable nonirrigated dry land. Generally speaking, the villagers do not like sweet potatoes, and the adults complain that when children eat sweet potatoes they soon become hungry again and that they have stomach pains. On the other hand, rice is universally enjoyed and is held to be satisfactorily filling.

FOOD AND RITUAL ENTERTAINMENT

The villagers' best opportunities for good eating as well as entertainment come mainly on religious, magical, and other occasions which are usually marked by festivity. These festive occasions are fairly frequent and have widely diverse origins; the religion of the villagers is Taoist, with an admixture of Buddhist and animistic beliefs and, of course, ancestor worship. In addition, the people frequently take part in magical rituals requiring the offices of shamans and various forms of divination in the case of illness, when demons are thought to be involved. Ample food of relatively high quality is served at almost all of these frequently performed religious and magical rituals, especially when outside guests are present. The amounts and kinds of food vary with the occasion. At one of the ordinary *pai-pai* (any ritual in which food or other items are sacrificed to gods or ancestors), which in the Hsin Hsing village area occur at least four times a month and at which there are usually no guests, the additional food may be some cooked pork or fresh fish and soup. This food is used for the ceremonial sacrifices and eaten later. There are elaborate food preparations for larger *pai-pai* dinners such as those for the village god, or at marriage festivals to which outside guests are always invited, or to a lesser degree at dinners for laborers at harvesttime. Sometimes at weddings, funerals, or other such occasions there are as many as eighteen

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from a village in the area or from Lukang. The price brought by the pig varies according to the market rate. If the farmer takes the pig to the butcher himself, he receives extra payment for his trouble.

When a villager sells his pigs he holds a *pai-pai* to pay homage to the god of the pig house. The worship is held near the pig house and consists of "vegetables and rice" (cut-up meats and fish in a soup), "sacrifices" (a whole fish and a whole piece of meat), incense, and paper imitation money. The food is usually then served to invited village friends and *ch'in tsu*. Since the occasion is not considered really festive, no *ch'in ch'i* from outside the village are invited for the dinner.

There is hardly a village household which does not raise some chickens, ducks, and geese. Few villagers sell either the fowl or the eggs but use both for village festive—usually religious—occasions. These are practically the only times that most village families will eat what they consider such a fine and expensive food as fowl. Of the three, chicken is the most highly prized and is considered the most nutritious and delicious of all meats.

There are farmers in other villages in the area who specialize in raising ducks and chickens. They sell their fowl and eggs to the markets in Lukang or other towns. On rare occasions a Hsin Hsing villager may go to such a farm to buy eggs for some special festival when more eggs are needed than his own flock can supply. Hsin Hsing villagers, like most villagers in the area, do not hatch their own eggs. Itinerant merchants on bicycles come through the villages and sell baby chicks and ducks. Although all fowl roam freely about the village and there are no fences to keep them from straying, if a chicken or duck disappears and is later found dead, the villagers can usually identify their own. They seldom lose a fowl or confuse another farmer's with their own. Some villagers do, however, cut a special mark in the web between the duck's toes or apply a dab of colored paint to their geese.

At night the fowl are usually kept under bamboo cages, since few villagers have anything which resembles a chicken house. The area is plagued by large rats which frequently kill chickens and ducks at night; a villager often loses several birds in one week. Disease also takes its toll of the village stock. The villagers do not know what these diseases are, and they watch helplessly while sometimes as many as a quarter of all the fowl in the village die within two weeks. No veterinarian is called.

Women and girl children care for the household's fowl, which involves little more than feeding them twice a day. Chickens, geese, and ducks are mainly fed white rice and specially grown green vegetables. Geese are fed sweet potatoes as well. The women also slaughter the

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Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

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water may turn to one of his *ch'in ch'i* whose area has an earlier cycle. Since it is not unusual for a farmer to have an excess of seedlings after transplanting, he will usually give his *ch'in ch'i* the seedlings for the asking. If extra seedlings are not available through a *ch'in ch'i*, it then becomes necessary to purchase the seedlings, often at a high price.

If a villager should for some reason be unable to arrange for the necessary labor to harvest his crop, he knows that he may call upon some of his *ch'in ch'i* who are not at the time engaged in their own harvesting to come to his aid. Since a whole area must usually be harvested over a period of a single week, labor shortage is a frequent problem. The latter is especially serious if a typhoon threatens; then a crop may have to be harvested immediately. Under such conditions, one's *ch'in ch'i*, if available, come to help without expecting wages. The *ch'in ch'i* who gives his labor knows that at some future date he can expect to receive similar help. This is not only true in times of emergency; there is frequently an informal exchange of labor in house building or other economic functions. If at all possible, a *ch'in ch'i* always holds himself ready to extend such aid.

The availability of a *ch'in ch'i*'s aid also extends to money loans. When a villager is in financial need and wishes to organize a money-lending club he may ask several of his *ch'in ch'i* who live nearby to take part in the group of ten or more *tsu* relatives and fellow villagers who usually make up such a club. There are also cases in the area where villagers have gone into joint business ventures with *ch'in ch'i* much like those which Lin (1947) described in *The Golden Wing*, although on a far smaller scale.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Hsin Hsing villagers' *ch'in ch'i* living in other villages are frequently helpful during harvest seasons as contacts in finding work for Hsin Hsing villagers on harvest labor teams in other places. Perhaps more important, they contact labor teams from other villages to come to harvest in Hsin Hsing. Still another type of help given by *ch'in ch'i* is to introduce Hsin Hsing village vegetable peddlers to customers in other villages.

Ch'in ch'i relationships are not only important economically but have social value as well. As will be seen later, social activity in Taiwan is intertwined with religious activity. The activity in the villages of Taiwan is marked by many *pai-pai*, which frequently involve large numbers of people and great quantities of food. When a large *pai-pai* is held in the village, every family participates. An occasion for a *pai-pai* in one village does not usually coincide with a *pai-pai* occasion in another, which makes a certain amount of visiting possible.

Usually, the most festive *pai-pai* is that for the village god. Since all the village families celebrate it at the same time, it is impossible to

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628 612 796 574 [621] invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* furnishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 574 612 604 [171] This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 574 593 [606] [612] Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 593 612 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 612 574 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occasions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

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guest. He is usually served with whatever delicacies are available and treated in an extremely warm and cordial manner. (When one visits a *ch'in tsu*, even when he is not busy, one cannot expect to be served any refreshments or be treated in any special way.) In speaking of visits to *ch'in ch'i* or of their general relations with them as compared with their *ch'in tsu*, most villagers describe them as being much warmer.

However, as is true of the *ch'in tsu* relationship, there are situations in which conflict does exist between *ch'in ch'i*. There can be conflicts over the exchange of wedding gifts and dowry or tension over the poor adaptation of the daughter-in-law to the new family. Certainly *ch'in ch'i* relationships are not totally without bad feelings, but great care is taken to minimize conflict.

It is because these relationships are so good that *ch'in ch'i* often play an important mediatorial role. When ill-feeling develops between *ch'in tsu* in Hsin Hsing, the elders of the *tsu* group may be called upon to mediate and settle the dispute. A respected man of the village or the mayor may be called upon, especially by the very small kinship groups. If these means fail it is common to invite a respected *ch'in ch'i* male, who is related to both disputants, to mediate. Such a mediator is considered the person most likely to be able to settle the dispute successfully. Although related to both, this *ch'in ch'i* is somewhat less familiar and greatly respected. If for no other reason than his "face" or his reputation in the eyes of others, his *ch'in ch'i* usually settle their dispute peacefully. The villagers generally feel, then, that disputes between members of the same *tsu* are best mediated by highly respected *ch'in ch'i*.

Politically, the *ch'in ch'i* activities have unquestionable importance during elections beyond the village level. Since the restoration of the present Chinese government in Taiwan, elections of one sort or another have become important annual events in the area. Whether the election is only on the *hsiang* level or as high as the *hsien* level, great interest is built up in the village. Often, several people from the local area or village run in county and district elections. An individual candidate in either, living in a village or nearby market town, must depend upon votes from the entire area in order to win the election. This, then, necessitates a large circle of campaign managers—people spread through the area who will campaign for the candidate among their fellow villagers and their own relatives. For this purpose, one's *ch'in ch'i* are often the most important single source of political support.

Ch'in ch'i are generally spread over the local countryside as a result of the marriage and adoption patterns. Large family groups, which are often the ones most likely to produce a candidate for a political office, are usually noted for the large number of their *ch'in ch'i* extensions. This tends to give added advantage to their candidates. The candidate

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881 Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow
514 villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to
612 the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are
[462] present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself
883 to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in
593 Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a
[626] village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added
882 responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a
[868] man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to trans-
743 plant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very
[465] little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*ja shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

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The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'iao t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

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The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

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585 ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she
574 often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's
[431] tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's
[272] money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

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581 Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in
17 contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships
[612] between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-
[777] luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or
[494] separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually,
[493] several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys become even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The twenty-fourth day of the fourth month is the birthday of the Hsin Hsing village god, Ta Shih Kung. Those villagers who have been working elsewhere normally come home for this *pai-pai*, and even some of the members of village families whose business or work has required them to move to the city return for this day and stay overnight or several days with relatives in the village. The main reason for this influx is that the celebration is one of the gayest and most festive of all those held during the year.

All families worship Ta Shih Kung in a joint *pai-pai* held in the courtyard of one of the largest *tsu* houses in the village. A shaman is present to exorcise any devils that may be near and to invite the god to eat the sacrificed food, the best the villagers have all year. Guests are invited from all over the area to join in the festivities, and for weeks or even months in advance the villagers issue invitations to relatives and friends. At the time of the *pai-pai*, the villagers even invite their neighbors' guests, if they happen to know them, to eat their food. People walk through the village, pounce upon acquaintances who are ambling along or who may have just come out of the house of another villager, and tug at their arms and clothing to get them into their homes to eat. (My wife and I were virtually dragged through seven different dinners that evening.) The villagers generally prepare so much food for the occasion that there is always enough for a few more, and they talk for months about the number of people they entertained that day. One old woman, a member of a relatively poor village family, boasted that she had had seventy guests at her house and that she had fed three tables of guests five times. Some of these guests stayed overnight and had to be fed again the next day. She spent NT $700 (US $19.50) on food and wine and had been saving her money for months for this occasion.

For the most part, all these guests reciprocate and invite the Hsin Hsing villagers to join them at the *pai-pai* celebrating the birthday of their own village god at a later date. The *pai-pai*, therefore, functions to maintain relationships with *ch'in ch'i* and friends and to enable families to meet new people. In addition, since the villages hold these *pai-pai* at different times, the people of the whole area are assured of a continuing source of entertainment.

The entertainment includes not only the good food and the contact with different people but also a puppet show performed by a professional group hired from a city. The puppet show is based on stories from dynastic history and is a source of delight to the villagers and their guests. Adults and children from neighboring villages usually wander over during the course of the day to watch the show. The carnival atmosphere of the occasion is augmented by the presence of vendors of food, sweets, sugarcane, and betel nut who come from Lukang and surrounding villages to sell their wares.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The puppet show and other communal expenses of the *pai-pai* are paid for with money collected from each village family by the pot master for Ta Shih Kung and his assistants, who also arrange for the show. Each village household is assessed an amount calculated on the basis of the amount of land operated (whether owned or rented) and the number of people in the household. The families of village shamans are not required to contribute any money on such occasions. In 1957 and 1958 all other households contributed NT $7 for each *chia* of land they worked, NT $1 for each male member of the household, and NT $0.50 for each female member. The approximate amount of village money spent for each of these annual celebrations of Ta Shih Kung's birthday was NT $1,150 (approximately US $32).

As the day's festivities draw to an end, the pot master gives an accounting of the expenditures which is accompanied by much arguing and accusations when a controversy arises over the way he handled the money or how the arrangements for the *pai-pai* were made. It seems to be usual for the sides of the controversy to be drawn along *tsu* lines. The final event of the day is the selection by lot of next year's pot master and his assistants. Some villagers watch the throwing of the blocks hopefully, wanting to be allowed to assume this position of honor and responsibility; others await the outcome nervously, hoping they will not be selected. If a man is chosen to be pot master or assistant, he has no option but to perform the job.

During the fifth and sixth months, the busy agricultural season, there are no important village *pai-pai* other than the usual four to worship the gods, their soldiers and horses, and the Good Brothers. Most festive holidays and calendrical rites fall in months when the farmers are not busy with agricultural chores. (See Figure 3.)

The fifteenth day of the seventh month, called Chung Yuan, the day when all the villagers worship the good brothers and Pu Tu Kung, the god in the underworld who watches over them, has already been discussed. The usual worship of the gods and their soldiers and horses on the fifteenth (and the first) of the month is omitted in the seventh month, however, since the gods are thought to be absent from the village while the Good Brothers are there.

The fifteenth day of the eighth month is the birthday of T'u·Ti Kung, the Earth God. On this day the villagers hold a *pai-pai* at his temple which is located on the road in front of the village. Each village family worships individually with sacrifices of pork, vegetable dishes, and moon cakes (*yueh ping*). No guests are invited to dinner on this occasion. However, if a family has a hired man working for them, it is customary to invite him to share the meal.

In the ninth month there are no special *pai-pai*, but around the middle of the tenth month, the village has one of its largest joint *pai-*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

pai of the year on the occasion called *tso p'ing-an*. By the time of this *pai-pai*, the farmers have harvested their rice, and at the ceremonial worship of T'ien Kung, his soldiers, and many lesser gods, they thank T'ien Kung for giving them a good crop and "peaceful days." The ceremony is held in the courtyard of one of the largest village *tsu* houses, and a shaman invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices. Huge

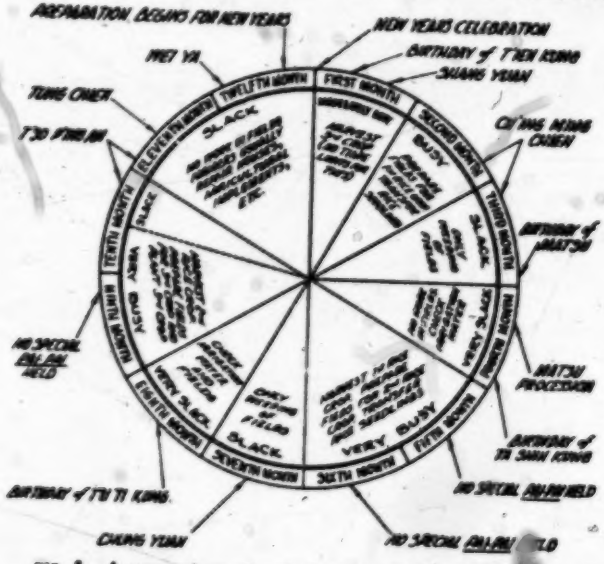

FIG. 3. A comparison of agricultural and religious calendars (lunar months).

amounts of paper money are offered to the god, but several informants noted that the village can no longer afford to hire a group of puppeteers to perform on this day.

Each village in the area arranges to hold its *tso p'ing-an pai-pai* on a different day. Thus, for a period of almost two weeks, the villagers busy themselves with visits to *ch'in-ch'i* relatives and friends to help them celebrate their *tso p'ing-an* festival. Hsin Hsing village alone entertains hundreds of guests on this occasion. But the amount of participation by village families in such socioreligious activities depends upon the number of friends and especially *ch'in ch'i* with whom they have maintained good relations.

Some time during the first half of the eleventh month, the villagers celebrate Tung Chieh. Each family worships its ancestors in the *kung*

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

796 769 *t'ing* with steamed round dough cakes and other simple sacrifices. Some families also worship at the village Earth God temple, and others go to the Matsu temple in Lukang.

The sixteenth day of the twelfth month is called Wei Ya and is the last day of the year on which the Good Brothers are worshipped by each family. On this day the villagers also go to the Earth God temple to ask T'u Ti Kung to protect their livestock. The average family does not have guests to dinner, but landlords are supposed to invite their hired men to eat on this occasion. Traditionally, this day has been the one on which it is decided whether or not the worker is to continue in the employ of the landlord for the coming year.

796 [782] 782 [574] [464]

By the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, as already indicated, the villagers begin to prepare for the New Year's celebration by sending the gods off to heaven.

796 182

Noncyclic Rites

Most clearly classifiable as noncyclic rites of passage (crisis rites) are those associated with life-cycle events (described in Chapter 7) such as the ceremonies held at a birth, on a boy's sixteenth birthday, upon marriage, and at death. Though they are rites of passage, they function also as rites of intensification, since they draw together family and *tsu* groups, including *ch'in ch'i* and friends from the surrounding area, and often large segments of the village.

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Functioning similarly are the times when a villager is seriously ill or when young men are being sent off for military service. While both situations are of immediate concern only to a particular family, the entire village may be requested to participate in a *pai-pai* and offer its prayers and sacrifices for the well-being of each person thus endangered. In case of a serious illness, the patient's family requests the villagers' participation by sounding a gong at dawn of the day on which the *pai-pai* is to be held. It would be rare for any village family (no matter what its relationship with the sponsoring family) to be unwilling to participate.

796 776 787 [182]

Still another noncyclic *pai-pai* which clearly functions as a rite of intensification rather than a rite of passage occurs when a god from some distant place comes to the village for an unscheduled visit. The villagers may be notified of the impending visit by a local god speaking through a shaman (*t'iao t'ung*) while he is in a trance. On the day of the announced visit, the entire village holds a joint *pai-pai* to welcome and worship the god. The occasion may become a regular *pai-pai* event as a result of the shaman's earlier announcement and may eventually become a part of the village's regular cyclic calendar of rituals.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

there may be certain devisive influences (usually along family or *tsu* lines), many Hsin Hsing villagers realize that the *pai-pai*, and to a lesser extent the magical ritual, are the main occasions for show of cooperation and unity within and between families and *tsu* groups in the village. Many independent, kin-related economic family units, which are more than ever before assuming greater economic independence, still come together for ancestor worship. Also, the whole village acts as a single unit when preparations are made for worship at large village *pai-pai* or a few shamanistic rites. Such widespread cooperation among the villagers of Hsin Hsing, and apparently among those in the other villages of the area, is not at all common on day-to-day occasions.

These *pai-pai*, as we have seen, also provide an opportunity for the extension of relationships beyond the boundaries of the village itself. Except for the occasional marriage, funeral, or boy's sixteenth-birthday celebration, the large *pai-pai* ceremonials are the only chances the villagers have to invite outside guests formally and to be invited in turn. Since all of these occasions stimulate reciprocal invitations and visiting, they therefore tend to facilitate contact and thus closer ties with *ch'in ch'i* in other places, which seems to be more and more emphasized in recent years. As we have already seen, the Matsu procession and *pai-pai* tends to foster cooperation and closer relations across village lines.

Even Christian families living in other villages in the area serve a large dinner and invite guests when their village holds an elaborate *pai-pai*. Although they themselves do not worship, these Christians realize that they have few opportunities to have guests and receive return invitations from relatives and friends. On such occasions they also feel obliged to do as the others do in order to avoid the laughter and criticism of their neighbors. People would say that they are either "too tight to spend the money" or perhaps just too poor. Such criticism tends to lower the reputation and general status of the family, and thus even Christians, on occasion, succumb to community pressures.

Religious and magical rituals in the Hsin Hsing area seem in general to be holding their own in face of the socioeconomic changes we have noted—changes brought about by increased economic security, higher standards of living and health, improved communications, and increased mobility. It is clear, though, that some practices of religion and magic have been weakened both in intensity and frequency. For example, many curative magical practices have been supplanted by Western medical practices as a primary means of curing. The significance attached to religious holidays such as the New Year and even some ancestral-worship ceremonies has actually de-

342 either to the south or to the west. This is what the villagers refer
353 to as the kōng-thiā:, or "court," and it is here, on a high altar
778 facing the door, that one finds the family's ancestral tablets. In a
342 new house the kōng-thiā: is invariably the cleanest, best cared for, and most expensively furnished room in the house. If the family owns a radio or a phonograph it will be found on a table in the kōng-thiā:, or if they happen to possess a piece of calligraphy by some notable this will be found hanging in the kōng-thiā:. Even the use of building materials will usually reflect the central and public character of the
333 kōng-thiā:. In many of those village houses in which the floors of
778 the kitchen and bedrooms are tamped dirt, the floor of the kōng-thiā:
342 is concrete, while in one of the few houses in which even the bedrooms and kitchen have concrete floors, the floor of the kōng-thiā: is terrazzo.

778 As in so many other areas of life, the people of Hsiachichou think
659 of a house in terms of relative social status. The principles are very simple. What is to the left of the ancestral tablets is of higher status than what is to the right of the tablets, and what is near the
778 tablets is of higher status than what is distant from the tablets. The
554 guest of honor sits at the end of the table closest to the tablets
574 facing the door of the kōng-thiā:, while the host sits at the end of the table most distant from the tablets facing the altar and the tablets. The second most distinguished guest sits to the immediate left of the guest of honor, or, as the villagers would see it, he takes the position on the left side which is closest to the family altar; while the third ranking guest is placed in the seat to the immediate right of the

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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769 a focal point for burning offerings in honor of the parent who was respected if not loved. Collectively, however, they are the symbol of something larger. They are proof of an unbroken chain of men beginning in a distant past of splendid achievements, a past in which the insignificant farmer burning incense was represented by his own blood relatives even though not himself present. Through him and because of him the chain will pass to his sons and his son's sons into an equally splendid world of the future in which he will again be represented though not present. For many Taiwanese, both the humble who accept their religion without question and the sophisticated who [illegible] at its mysticism, it is this concept of being one link in an awesomely long chain, unimportant in themselves yet essential to the continuation of the chain, that gives meaning to what might be an unkind world of hard work and hunger. Every new bride brings hope of at least one more link in the chain of descent; every birth brings certainty. Both bride and infant are formally introduced to the ancestors shortly after their entrance into the family. At every death the ancestors are respectfully notified that another family member is passing over to their side of the altar.

• 574 857 353 778 Although the guest hall is also the ancestral hall, the scene of all the ceremonies connected with them as well as many involving the hierarchy of the gods, the room is not a sacred one. The altar is high enough to be safe from the hands of toddlers and awesome enough to be safe from their older siblings, but its very height provides underneath an excellent play house, train station, or opera stage for children on rainy afternoons. In the cold, damp days of winter, the guest hall is nearly always busy with the games of active youngsters. This is also the room in which tables are set up for the banquets that occur regularly throughout the year in rural Taiwan. The head of a household with business interests meets his customers here at his desk against one wall. When he is not home, the children use the desk to do their homework. When a typhoon threatens, the farmer comes in every few hours to listen to the weather report, leaning casually against the altar. In the hot, humid days of summer, he may take a short nap here after the noon meal, stretched out on the cool cement floor. The guest hall is kept somewhat cleaner than the other rooms in the house and is more frequently seen by strangers than the other rooms, but it is not sacred.

[352] [356] 000 Leading from both sides of the guest hall are hallways along

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The police registration for the house lists Lim Chieng-cua and his wife, Lim Chui-ieng; their six children; Lim Chieng-cua's older brother's widow, Lim A-pou; her unmarried son, Masa; her married son, Lim A-bok, and his wife; and their two children. During the two years we lived with them, the Lim family always had at least one other relative accepting their hospitality. The enormous task of providing for this large family is shared by the adult members of the household according to a careful division of labor. As the eldest male, and therefore the head of the family, Lim Chieng-cua serves as general manager, deciding when and how the family income is to be used, and, being the most worldly member of the family, he also manages the family business, the cement bag factory that employs from four to twelve village girls. Lim A-bok, a man in his late twenties, takes primary responsibility for farming the family's five or six acres of land, arranging for the sale of its produce as well. In the kitchen, Lim A-pou's daughter-in-law and Lim Chieng-cua's wife share the large task of cooking for the family, each woman taking the responsibility for five days at a time. In so far as he does anything, Masa helps his older brother in the fields. Lim A-pou's main responsibility is gathering, chopping, and cooking food for the family's dozen or so pigs, but with her amazing energy and efficiency, she also finds time to help her slow daughter-in-law in the kitchen, and during the rush seasons of harvest and planting, she works with her sons in the fields.

This division of labor enables the family to support itself much more efficiently than if they were divided into smaller nuclear family units. As he is physically unable to do heavy labor himself, Lim Chieng-cua needs someone to farm his share of the family land, and for his part, Lim A-bok has neither the experience nor possibly the temperament to run the family business. Although an intelligent man, he has not yet developed his uncle's easy and effective manner of expressing himself, nor has he the reputation as a leader in the community that this skill has brought Lim Chieng-cua. Because of Lim A-bok's skill and industry as a farmer, however, he occupies an unusual position in the community for a man his age. The farmers of the village, old and young alike, choose him to represent them in the various government and cooperative farm groups and look to him for the interpretation and evaluation of the information received from these groups. For the women of the family, the arrangement has the advantage of giving each of them a break from the monotony of

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of generosity is not characteristic of a man who has risen through the ranks of the *lo mua*. His competitors had more than likely caught him in practices unfair even among the *lo mua*. On the day that he was to divide the money with them, there was a problem. The officials of the winery had to delay their payment. Lim Hue-lieng informed the men of this and they seemed to accept it, even inviting him to a dinner the following evening. Lim Hue-lieng was not paid off the next day either, and when he explained the problem to his "friends," they gave every indication of believing him.

A Taiwanese dinner party is a seemingly informal affair that operates under very formal rules. Even in the village, feasts are rarely simple expressions of hospitality. The guests are poor relatives, wealthy relatives to whom the host is indebted, friends, business associates, and men to whom he owes social or monetary debts. In some families these tend to be quite large affairs with four or five tables of eight men each. There is another kind of dinner party—more common to townsfolk but occasionally given by the wealthier village men—which can only be described as select. These parties are limited to one table of guests and are usually held in a restaurant rather than a home. Each guest is invited for a definite if unspecified purpose: the man who is pressed by his host into the most honored position at the table knows he is being thanked for a favor, or about to be asked for one; the guest who finds himself sitting in an undesirable spot is silently informed that the favor he requested will not be granted; another guest is made to understand that his friendship is valued but should not be pressed by a special request. In Taipei it is common for businessmen to give a feast for their employees during the New Year's season. An employee whose performance has been unsatisfactory will find himself in the honored position: his employer is giving him face before his fellow workers and also making it clear that he should resign the following week.

Be it a select dinner party or a huge village feast, the duty of the host is to urge as much food as possible down his guests and as much wine. Wine drinking at a banquet is the least informal aspect of the whole affair. If he wishes to insult no one (and this may very well not be his wish) each guest must drink a toast to every man at his table at some time during the evening. No guest can refuse to drink the toast without causing serious insult or involving himself in a long explanation. Since drinking in the village only occurs in conjunction with

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574 273 course after course of heavy food, there is little drunkenness, but the goal of the good host is to get most of his guests at least pink-cheeked or his dinner is not a success and his hospitality may be questioned. The businessman or official who has to look in on two or three of these ordeals in an evening learns to shift the favored "drain the glass" toast to a moderate sip. Not to develop this skill invites disaster since it is under these conditions that the major decisions in a man's business life are made.

+596 +159 Considerable planning must have gone into the dinner party for Lim Hue-lieng. He could avoid without offense as many toasts as any man, and he had a reputation for holding his liquor well. Perhaps that evening he was feeling more cautious about giving offense; perhaps, as some villagers believe, his liquor was tampered with; or perhaps he was simply careless. At any rate, he was toasted again and again and proved no match for the concerted efforts of seven men. He was brought home nearly senseless with drink. During the night, some unknown men secretly entered his house and efficiently severed the tendons of his knees, elbows, and fingers. The attack was designed to cripple, not to kill. It was two years before Lim Hue-lieng's wounds healed. When they did, he could neither walk nor clench his fists.

Lim Hue-lieng had loyal followers and friends, but during his long convalescence they necessarily formed new alliances and became involved in other business enterprises. When his injuries healed, it was apparent to everyone that he no longer had the physical strength prerequisite to his former occupations. A man who cannot walk cannot gather up gangs of men quickly, and a man who cannot clench his fists cannot enforce his terms. Lim Hue-lieng sold his house in Tapu and moved himself and his second wife and child back to his father's house in Peihotien.

+596 +159 +593 595 606 Lim So-lan told me about those last years with Lim Hue-lieng: "We lived with them for over two years. I had never done much heavy work before, but after we moved there I had to do all kinds of hard work, even in the fields. I cried a lot in my stomach in those days, but I didn't complain. I gritted my teeth and did any kind of work that had to be done, and so his parents liked me, and for awhile we all got along very well. Then my husband decided to adopt A-hua, and that made his first wife angry. She went around telling everybody, 'They can't make any money and yet they go ahead and adopt another child for other people to feed.' She didn't dare say anything about it to him

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Lim Chieng-cua, looking confused and a little irritated since the letter was from one of his business associates, demanded, "What do you mean you never let him feed you three meals? Why do you say that? What's the trouble?"

Lim A-pou shrugged and said, "I don't know anything about it. Ask my son."

Lim Chieng-cua gave his nephew a questioning look. A-bok answered it unwillingly. "The last time I went to Lungyen to a festival [to represent the family] I missed the last bus. Even though I was in his house, he didn't say a word, so I had to walk all of the way home [a distance of several miles]."

Lim Chieng-cua, impatient and rather disgusted, answered, "Is that all? Did it ever occur to you how he felt at that time? His house was full of guests and his mind full of obligations. Why didn't you just explain the problem to him? I'm sure he would have asked you to spend the night."

A-bok snorted, "Huh! Explain! He is so suspicious of people that he thought I'd steal all his possessions if I stayed there one night. Have I ever neglected to treat him well when he comes here? This kind of person we can ignore."

Lim Chieng-cua, clearly trying to be patient, explained, "Now how can you ignore him? It is in these little things that you make errors. I am the one that has to be in contact with him all the time and do business with him. You have to think of my relations, too. I am the one that bears our family's responsibility to him. The cucumbers are unimportant things. Obviously, he has the money to buy them anywhere. The letter is just a joke and a way of complimenting us on the quality of our cucumbers. He is not so poor that he has to write a letter begging cucumbers from us."

A-bok said nothing more, but as he followed his mother out of the room, his face was sullen and unconvinced.

That evening when we were sitting in the kitchen, the subject of the letter came up again. Lim Chieng-cua said, "Look at it this way. You have given people presents and people sometimes give you presents, too."

Lim A-pou, immediately on the defensive, interrupted him "We only gave Ong A-giok cucumbers because she often helps us in the fields. We never give them to anyone else."

Lim Chieng-cua answered patiently, "I'm not suggesting that you shouldn't give things to people. You can give things to your

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chapter 8 [p.99]

TAN A-HONG: AN ADOPTED DAUGHTER

Except on the coldest days and for a few hours each night, the doors of the houses in Peihotien are never closed. A closed door in the daytime would arouse concern or suspicion and would surely bring a group of neighbors to inquire as to what the trouble might be. Few strangers come to Peihotien and when they do, they nearly always send one of the swarming children to run ahead and announce to Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong that he has a visitor. A neighbor looking for Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong simply walks into the house calling his name, and if Mr. Lim or Mr. Ong does not answer, he walks on out again. An intimate friend or relative walks into the house even more casually, wandering through the passageways until he finds someone, courteously coughing before pushing aside the curtains of a bedroom door in his search. Until I became familiar with the faces of the intimates of the Lim family and with the villagers who dropped in there frequently, I had the uncomfortable sensation that the narrow passageways of our house were thoroughfares at least as public as the lanes outside. The situation was even more confusing to me as a newcomer because the number of people actually living in the house varied from week to week. During the harvest season, gangs of workmen came up from the south to cut the rice and stayed in the house for the three or four days it took to harvest the Lim fields. When Lim A-bok strained his back, a young relative lived in the house and helped with the field work. At least twice an old woman distantly related through Lim Han-ci's wife stayed in the house for several weeks while the Lims tried to patch up

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her quarrel with her daughter. Other relatives came to stay for a few nights or a few months.

When Tan A-hong appeared with her five-year-old daughter, I had become so used to the stream of visitors that I didn't even bother to ask who she was for a week or so. I knew, of course, her surname, but when I casually asked A-bok's giddy wife if she was a relative, I dismissed the confused yes-and-no of her answer as just one more sample of A-ki's disorderly thoughts. However, as Tan A-hong's visit lengthened, we noticed that she consistently used kinship terms when addressing the Lims. She was visited frequently by an unusually attractive young woman who was introduced as her daughter and who was treated by the Lims as a much beloved family member. It did not take many questions to discover that Tan A-hong was the adopted daughter Lim Han-ci had given to another family when his own daughter was returned by her foster family. Tan A-hong remained in our house for several months and when one of the small village houses owned by the Lims became vacant, she moved into it, becoming a resident of Peihotien.

By Taiwanese standards, Lim Han-ci had been generous in his treatment of Tan A-hong. Since she was "only an adopted daughter," he would have been justified in selling her to the highest bidder when he found he no longer had reason to keep her and could no longer afford to keep her. The highest bidders in those days were dealers who bought attractive female children to raise as prostitutes, wealthy families who wanted slaves, or prostitutes who adopted daughters to raise in their profession as support for their own old age. Instead of this, Lim Han-ci arranged for A-hong's future in the way he would have arranged the future of a daughter born to him: he found a family who wished to adopt a girl as their son's future wife. A-hong was not sweet-tempered, even as a girl. The family who adopted her evidently had second thoughts about marrying her to their son. She was married out of the family. At least A-hong claims that her exit from the Tan family was by way of a respectable marriage, but the facts of her subsequent career and her retention of the Tan surname cast some doubt on this. The marriage, if it existed, was brief, for Tan A-hong soon moved to southern Taiwan where she earned her living as a prostitute. It was at this time that she further altered her name to include the character for phoenix (*hong*) which is often found in the professional names of women who follow her calling.

Legally and socially, the obligations of the Lims toward A-hong

123 609 Full acceptance is never possible. An American of European descent must accept the fact he will always be considered a rich, highly educated, kao pi tzu (big nose or Westerner). There are various clues to evaluate your 123 level of acceptance. Your relative status may be assessed by where you are assigned to sit at a dinner in some- 609 584 • 584 one's house for locations at the table are ranked in order 584 of importance. At a big festival such as a wedding for which there are many tables, relative importance is also assigned to different tables. For example, although the groom goes from table to table toasting the guests and being toasted in turn, he starts with the most important table and ends with the least. At the start of our study, we were the most prestigious guests at every function, even ranking above the mayor of the large nearby town of Hsin Tien. As time passed, we moved down the tables in rank position, joining the richer villagers but sitting below local village officials. At the last wedding, my wife sat at the lowest ranking regular table in the kitchen with the women in the immediate family since one woman in the family was one of her closest friends in the village and I sat at the third-ranking table with my 123 "sworn brothers." Three months before I left, I had [573] achieved a high level of acceptance by becoming a member of a chieh pai hsuing ti[3] (sworn brothers association). [601] A final key may be found in the term of address which

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 [463] percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 504 556 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

231 for any other period. Although detailed breakdowns vary, the total number of animals in the village was always about the same. Six of the sixty-six households have a dog and eight have cats. Cats and dogs were rarely kept in the village prior to the last ten years for villagers
235 believe pets are a sign of affluence. Three households own a total of 13 turkeys, and two others, six geese, both considered to be luxury items.

[262] Chickens are the most popular item. Fifty-seven of the sixty-six households were raising (for meat rather than eggs) a total of 421 chickens, an average of over
[443] seven each. Instead of hatching eggs, chicks are purchased from the peddler who comes through about once a month or are carried in from Hsin Tien. Chickens are
262 574 rarely consumed as part of the regular diet. Instead, they are eaten as part of the periodic religious feasts (see Chapter IX) or on special occasions such as weddings or funerals. Since chickens eat scraps and largely fend for themselves, they cost little to raise and add significant quantities of protein to the diet for the festivals during which chickens are eaten are not infrequent or sporadic. A typical household would normally plan on having chicken
235 or duck about three or four times each month. The raising of ducks is similar to chickens but less common, 16 households owning 74 ducks. Every duck-owning household also owns chickens.

735 558 These practices are not obvious to the casual observer for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 621 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are [648 829] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are higher, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited [535 579] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

511 factors in the distribution of community resources so that
621
everyone shares in the prosperity. Finally, the continued
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[514]
development of land and the industrialization nearby all
[464]
offer so many job opportunities that just about anyone
that wants to work can earn a living.

632 office. There are two reasons for this: since a minimal
556 level of wealth is considered to indicate ability, a poor man is probably not very able or intelligent; and since leisure time at odd moments is required to conduct political business, a laborer probably does not have control over his working hours to the degree of self-employed men.

632 Rather than the expensive personal entertainment of
594 visiting officials by the mayor who provides food and drink which is characteristic of some communities, Sanlei residents and the li in general, invite external officials to the community parties, weddings, and sworn brothers' association dinners. This custom probably developed because of the absence of landlords who might have been able to afford the expenses out of their own pockets.

632 The second officer is the representative to the
[692] township council. All the above qualifications described for the mayor are equally relevant for the representative except that he much less often acts as a mediator in village disputes. His official duties are as a legislator rather than an executive and his job stresses external relations by its nature, even when he is a member of the "traditional" faction.

The final local official is the village secretary who is appointed by higher level authorities rather than elected by the community. He operates out of the township office with major responsibility for taxes, household

596 plan of the dwelling unit, the previously described U-shaped building. The building is divided into rooms (10' x 10' up to 15' x 15') based only on the roof-bearing floor-to-ceiling walls but some rooms are partitioned with partial walls into smaller subdivision. Each nuclear family indicated on the diagram individually owns the rooms marked with its identifying letter. It can be noted that since there are six families, there are six kitchens, a separate kitchen being part of the definition earlier posited for each household. The kung t'ing in the center is owned jointly by all the compound members.

596 342 The building has developed in the manner suggested in a previous discussion. The original building consisted only of the three rooms in the center of the base of the "U." Additional rooms have been added to the original building at each end and then, by extending the wings. The various households have been established at various periods by a process of division. E's parents and his siblings moved to Taipei for a period of time while only E and his family of procreation returned. Obviously, E's father has more rights to rooms than E but space was easily made for E on his return. Occasionally, there has been some juggling of rooms since each room is owned by a separate household.

[769] [574] However, the kung t'ing is owned jointly by all and used by any member unit for worship or entertaining guests.

561 claim they will come back to take over the family farm
573 when the older generation is no longer capable but others say they will never live in a village again because the city is so much more interesting.

561 The associations fulfill a number of functions in
573 the community. For one, they are a fellowship unit. Most
574 units get together once or twice a year for a dinner at a site which rotates among the homes of the members. The party lasts several hours and usually features consumption of great quantities of food and alcohol plus the usual drinking games and joking behavior. The host provides the food and drink but each guest contributes an amount of cash which is determined by the current value of pok as a hedge against inflation. For example, a typical contribution would be the sum required to buy two chin of pork. The party itself has an integrating effect for the unit.

561 A second function is as a mutual insurance associ-
573 ation. Members contributed at fixed rates for certain
436 events affecting fellow members although the terms vary for each group, established at the time it is founded. A list of a set of contributions for one association which is somewhat more elaborate than most follows (one chin equals 1-1/3 pounds):

621 665 water tower. Normally, there is little competition between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally 621 identified with a single neighborhood. The neighborhoods • 574 do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money

one individual performs the act while others observe. There are only two kinds of occasions I observed during the study when there are joint performances: a teaching situation with an older individual and a child performing the same rite; or when hired priests collectively participate in a ceremony such as a funeral. Most worship is by an individual representing his family, nuclear up to extended or compound, and often including deceased members.

For 64 of the 66 Sanlei households, one representative, usually the oldest male in the household, worships in the kung t'ing each morning and evening with incense. There is no ritual gathering to observe the worship. Where more than one household share ownership of the kung t'ing, i.e., in a compound, only one representative for the compound is necessary and usual. On the first and fifteenth or second and sixteenth of each lunar month, worship offerings include special rich food such as many meat and fish dishes and the family usually does gather to observe the worship in 59 of the 66 households.

On the community level, there is worship for the various special holidays, but each household's sacrifice is offered separately and returned to be consumed separately. There are often parties with guests present on special days but even then the food is kept separate in each household. Only in some compounds with a joint kung

527 t'ing is food comingled and even there, the practice is
592 relatively rare. I attended one big dinner in a compound
• 574 kung t'ing of two families. There were two tables with identical menues although food for each was prepared in separate kitchens. I ate part of the meal at each table, oldest brother's first. It was a single party with much joking and drinking games and although wine and cigarettes were passed between tables, the food remained distinct. To have many guests is desirable so that frequently at large affairs, the host is out on the street bringing in guests and he never does sit and eat. Since meals are usually served in courses, one dish at a time, it is possible for a guest to only stay long enough for one or two courses, and thus, be able to visit many different homes in a single evening.

796 Beyond the community, only the li and li temple are
632 important in religious activities. The li consists of five villages which have historically cooperated in maintenance of a single temple. On some occasions, sacrifices are brought to the li temple rather than the Sanlei temple but if the li is involved, usually to both. Hired priests and/or entertainment may be at the li temple as well as the village.

796 There is very little joint worship beyond the li and although some holidays are national, Talei Li does not cooperate with others in celebration. The only unit larger

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789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

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796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

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585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of re-
• 524 sources. The temple committee collected and spent over
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[585] $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typi-
[434] cal day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare
[78] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary .

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan-
782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic.

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443 prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of
207 the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

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571 Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are [882] separated according to sex. There is some dating but the [174] boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young [593] married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people.
517 Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks
574 and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often
295 come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men
265 occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

275 games and a gambling game something like paper, rock, and
265 scissors.

484 Middle-aged married people, without their children,
177 go for a two to five day sightseeing tour on a bus, a unique form of recreation started by the Japanese. Two men from Erhlei organize a trip once every eight or nine months for forty people or so, all from Talei Li. The trip is not very expensive and everyone seems to have a good time and later, talks about the trips for years.

• 574 Dinner and drinking parties are also important and being a host is both enjoyable and establishes one's social
273 position. Men play drinking games at dinners because one never drinks without also eating. During a dinner, one can not drink alone; he must find someone to drink with. Toasts in the previously described manner are kan bei (bottoms up), ban bei (half the glass), or swei bien (as much as you like). A goal of the drinking game is to stay sober while getting others drunk for to become drunk is to lose face. People become very skilled at the drinking games based on a strategy that when your glass is near empty, you should get a man with a full glass to kan bei (bottoms up) in the hope to have him drink much while you drink little. He should, in this situation, try to get the toast to be swei bien (as much as you like).

796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties [431] and celebrations. Gifts are received from employers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in- [574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair [787] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the [777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan: the only exceptions are households without children.

796 return until after New Year although part of their respon-
796 sibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve
[356] as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as con-
[582] scientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting mis-
deeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

796 For most of the above events, although details vary,
782 worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers,
[778] and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and
796 less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible,
594 there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

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villagers eat at the homes of richer villagers.

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Most villagers claim that men are responsible for carrying out the worship activities connected with religion and also for arranging the events. On the other hand, in another breath, the same villagers will say that the responsibility is borne by the head of the household. There is an implied assumption that the terms man and head-of-household are nearly synonymous but as pointed out previously, many heads of households are females in Sanlei Ts'un. From an observational point of view, there is little doubt that women are prime organizing forces in planning the celebrations. Ordinarily, for the very minor occasions, they do much of the actual worship itself but on one of the special days described above, when the family and guests gather to watch a worship activity, an older man will perform if one is available in the family. If one is not available, a woman will worship. The family identification is more important than the sex for on several occasions I observed women performing the worship activity although there were old men present as guests who were not members of the family. On the most important days, those with worship activities at the village and li temples, there will always be some women observed among the celebrants. They are well accepted and will evoke no disparaging remarks as long as they have no man in the family who should be assuming the responsibility.

come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

Village young people often go off to town on Sunday, to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time. As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

usually including a soup accompanied by rice or sweet potatoes and vegetables. Lunch is eaten in a manner similar to breakfast, individually in scattered locations. In the hot weather with its longer days, most field workers have a nap after lunch but in the winter with short days, the workers return to the fields within an hour. The school children have an hour for lunch and in the afternoon, the other half of the first four graders attend.

The afternoon period is similar to the morning. Most women have their washing completed now and there is more visiting and more time for cooperative shared tasks such as grinding rice or preparing soy sauce. About two times per week, a group of women go into Hsin Tien to a movie. However, the groups vary so that no one sees a movie more often than once a month or so. By 4:00 the children are home from school. They have few tasks other than feeding the farm animals. Many women turn over the care of the small children to the older students so they can go to the mountains for a load of wood. The temple caretaker has cleaned the temple and is busy now chasing children out who are running and making too much noise.

There have been a few more people in the village than the above might suggest. Since fields are scattered, some men pass through the village on their way from one task site to another. A man hauling dry wood from the mountain will make six or seven stops during the day. The